## Message Text

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E.O. 11652: N/A TAGS: PFOR, HU, RO

SUBJ: KADAR-CEAUSESCU MEETING

REF: A. BUDAPEST 1873; B. BUCHAREST 1102; C. BUCHAREST A-131

OF DECEMBER 23, 1976; D. BUDAPEST 1998

1. SUMMARY. JOINT JUNE 15-16 BORDER MEETING SBETWEEN ROMANIAN PRESIDENT CEAUSESCU AND HUNGARIAN PARTY LEADER KADAR APPEAR TO HAVE AT LEAST FORMALLY RESOLVED SEVERAL LONG-STANDING PROBLEMS, ALTHOUGH TOASTS INDICATE THAT MUCH STILL REMAINS TO BE DONE IF RELATIONS ARE TO CONTINUE TO IMPROVE. FOR FIRST TIME A HUNGARIAN-ROMANIAN COMMUNIQUE OPENLY ACKNOWLEDGES THAT MINORITY POPULATIONS CONSTITUTE "IMPORTANT FACTOR" IN BILATERAL RELATIONS, ALTHOUGH IT ALSO CAREFULLY NOTES THAT LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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RESOLUTION OF PROBLEM IS AN "INTERNAL QUESTION." IN ADDITION, AGREEMENT HAS FINALLY BEEN REACHED ON OPENING A HUNGARIAN CONSULATE IN CLUJ. GIVEN PROGRESS APPARENTLY ACHIEVED AT THIS SESSION, WE WOULD EXPECT THAT WAY IS NOW OPEN FOR AN OFFICIAL CEAUSESCU VISIT TO BUDAPEST IN NOT TOO DISTANT FUTURE. END SUMMARY.

2. LANGUAGE ON MINORITIES IN COMMUNIQUE ISSUED FOLLOWING
JOINT MEETINGS OF KADAR AND CEAUSESCU AT DEBRETIN (JUNE 15)
AND ORADEA (JUNE 16) IS UNPRECEDENTED. WHILE ROMANIANS
AGREED TO SOMEWHAT SIMILAR LANGUAGE IN JULY 1974 COMMUNIQUE
AND SEPTEMBER 1976 DECLARATION WITH YUGOSLAVIA (WHERE INOBLEM
IS MUCH LESS SENSITIVE), UNTIL NOW THEY HAVE RESISTED
HUNGARIAN ATTEMPTS TO OBTAIN SAME, EVEN THOUGH CEAUSESCU
HIMSELF USED SIMILAR LANGUAGE IN A MORE GENERAL SENSE IN
HIS JUNE 1976 SPEECH TO THE CULTURAL CONGRESS. HUNGARIAN-

ROMANIAN TEXT IS MORE COMPREHENSIVE THAN THAT WITH YUGOSLAVS AND INCLUDES STATEMENT THAT RESPECTIVE MINORITIES SHOULD BECOME "IN MUCH GREATER MEASURE, BRIDGES OF TOGETHERNESS BETWEEN TWO PEOPLES." COMMUNIQUE TALKS OF A JUST MARXIST-LENINIST SOLUTION OF PROBLEM, ALTHOUGH NOTING THAT ITS RESOLUTION IS STRICTLY AN "INTERNAL QUESTION." NEVERTHELESS, SENSITIVE ISSUE IS CLEARLY A CHANGE IN GOR POLICY AND INDICATIVE OF THE HARD BARGAINING WHICH MUST HAVE TAKEN PLACE. KADAR HINTS AT THIS IN HIS JUNE 16 TOAST NOTING HIS "IMPRESSION" THAT BOTH SIDES DESIRED TO FOCUS ON PROBLEMS "WHICH MUST BE RESOLVED IN CONNECTION WITH THE DEVELOPMENT OF OUR RELATIONS."

3. RESOLUTION OF TEN-YEAR OLD DISCUSSION ON HUNGARIAN CONSULATE IN CLUJ IS ALSO SIGNIFICANT, EVEN THOUGH GOH MUST ALSO GRANT ROMANIANS A CONSULATE IN DEBRETIN. WHICH LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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IS MUCH LESS SIGNIFICANT GIVEN SMALLER ROMANIAN MINORITY IN HUNGARY. CULTURAL RELATIONS ARE TO BE EXTENDED, WHICH CEAUSESCU NOTED WILL INCLUDE INCREASE IN EXCHANGES INVOLVING ART, LITERATURE, AND RADIO-TV. (COMMENT: WE UNDERSTAND THAT CURRENT 500,000 LEI LIMIT ON VALUE OF BOOKS WHICH EACH SIDE MAY IMPORT WILL BE INCREASED, BUT WE DO NOT KNOW BY HOW MUCH.) NEW AGREEMENT IS ALSO NOTED REGARDING BORDER TRAFFIC AND CROSSINGS, AS WELL AS CONTINUATION OF HYDROTECHNICAL ACCORD, BUT AS YET WE HAVE NO DETAILS ON THESE.

- 4. OTHER SECTIONS OF COMMUNIQUE ARE PRETTY MUCH STANDARD RHETORIC. WE NOTE THAT KADAR IN HIS TOASTS SPEAKS OF SOVIET 60TH ANNIVERSARY AND NEED TO STRENGTHEN UNITY OF SOCIALIST STATES IN ORDER DEFEND DETENTE, BOTH OF WHICH SUBJECTS CEAUSESCAMIGNORES.
- 5. COMMENT: FORMER HUNGARIAN DCM HERE HAD PREVIOUSLY TOLD US THAT RESOLUTION OF MINORITIES PROBLEM AND OF CLUJ MEETING. HE APPEARS TO HAVE BEEN CORRECT. WHILE FORMER PROBLEM IS BY NO MEANS RESOLVED, IT AT LEAST HAS FINALLY SURFACED AS A PUBLIC OBJECT OF BILATERAL ATTENTION.

THIS MEETING WITH KADAR APPEARS TO HAVE BEEN THE NECESSARY STEPPING STONE TO A LATER CEAUSESCU VISIT TO BUDAPEST (COMMUNIQUE NOTES THAT SUCH AN INVITATION WAS EXTENDED) WHERE ROMANIANS MAY STILL SIGN THE TYPE OF BILATERAL JOINT DECLARATION ALREADY CONCLUDED WITH THE SOVIETS, POLES AND EAST GERMANS AND EXPECTED SOON WITH CZECHS.

NEVERTHELESS, IN SPITE OF THIS WEEK'S RHETORIC AND AGREEMENT S IT WILL TAKE SOME DOING BY BOTH SIDES TO TURN AN ALMOST TWO MILLION MINORITY WHICH HISTORICALLY HAS CONSTITUTED A THORN IN THE ROMANIAN SIDE INTO A BRIDGE OF TOGETHERNESS.

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